

4/19/78-Panama Canal – Status Briefing Book [1]

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| FORM OF DOCUMENT | CORRESPONDENTS OR TITLE | DATE | RESTRICTION |
|--------------------------|---|------------------------------------|--------------|
| Memo | Moore, Beckel & Thomson to Pres. Carter, 11 pp. re: Canal Treaty Status report | 2/6/78 | C |
| Comment sheet | Comments by Sen. Eastland, 1 pg. re: personal matter | 6/77 1/78 | C |

FILE LOCATION

Carter Presidential Papers-Staff Offices, Office of Staff Sec.-Presidential Handwriting File [Panama Canal-Status Briefing Book-4/19/78] [1] Box 81

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

February 6, 1978

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: FRANK MOORE
BOB BECKEL
BOB THOMSON

Bob

RE: PANAMA CANAL TREATIES - STATUS REPORT

Last week, foes in the Armed Services Committee launched the first substantive attack on the Treaties by raising several questions about their cost. Since then, we have held three meetings with our Senate staff group and several meetings with individual Senators on the economic questions.

These meetings have cut our losses, but we have not entirely regained the initiative.

Meanwhile, the identities of undecided and leaning Senators have become well known. Consequently, pressure is building on them from all sides - pressure that will reach its height during their 10 days at home during the recess. We must try to win over as many Senators as possible before the recess.

A. ECONOMIC QUESTIONS

Following are the principal economic questions raised about the Treaties thus far:

1. Does Panama expect that the second \$10 million, if not paid from current annual surpluses, will accrue each year and be paid to Panama in a lump sum on December 31, 1999?
2. Does Panama expect the new canal commission to discontinue the \$20 million payment now made by the Panama Canal Company to the U.S. Treasury as interest on the original U.S. investment, thereby increasing the chances that country will receive the \$10 million surplus payment?
3. What hidden costs are associated with the Treaties?
4. Are traffic estimates realistic for the mid-1980's and beyond?

We have responded to the questions as follows:

1. Through diplomatic channels, we have determined Panama does not expect the second \$10 million, if unpaid in those years where insufficient surpluses exist, to accrue to the end of the Treaty period and be paid to Panama in a lump sum at that time. We are exploring means of getting written proof of that from Panama.
2. We have explained that Congress has the discretion to continue or discontinue the \$20 million interest payment, although we are likely to recommend that it be discontinued. The Treaties are silent on that point. However, the State Department has been reluctant to contact Panama on this matter.
3. A list of costs associated with the Treaties has been provided. The list includes such items as the book value of property turned over to Panama upon ratification of the Treaties.
4. The basis for our original traffic estimates has been explained.

On Thursday or Friday, Arthur Anderson will publish its comprehensive study of the economic viability of the Canal under the Treaties. The report should lay to rest virtually all the questions concerning traffic projections and toll increases. We will send you a summary of the report.

B. OTHER EMERGING ISSUES

The three additional issues that will be most troublesome are as follows:

1. Bases after 2000

Senator Dole will press for an amendment providing for U.S. bases in Panama after the year 2000. As you have said, approval of such an amendment would defeat the Treaties.

We propose to counter with an understanding calling for the President in 1995 to commence negotiations with Panama for bases after the year 2000, if he deems it necessary. Of course, we will submit a text to you for approval/disapproval before taking a position. Panama must be approached, as well.

2. Operation and Maintenance after 2000

Some Senators are suggesting amendments giving the U.S. responsibility for maintenance after the year 2000, giving the U.S. a right of first refusal on maintenance contracts after 2000, or requiring Panama to use post-2000 Canal revenues only for operation and maintenance of the Canal. We oppose these amendments.

Instead, we are exploring an understanding that would define more explicitly the "security, efficiency and proper maintenance" provisions of Article II of the Neutrality Treaty. As before, we will submit a draft to you and the Panamanians before taking a position.

3. Drugs

Senator Dole has told Dan Tate that allegations of Torrijos' drug connections should not play a role in the Treaty debate. However, he has sent two confidential documents leaked from DEA back to the agency for "authentication". Justice is trying to decide how to respond to the Dole letter.

The documents contain informants' allegations that Omar Torrijos is associated with drug traffickers.

State and Justice have prepared public responses to the drug allegations. We believe the material will leak shortly.

Nobody, including Senator Baker, knows what Dole's intentions are.

C. THE COUNT

We have checked our vote count with Byrd, Baker, Cranston, Hollings and two key Senate staff members. The latest count is attached.

The following are targets where there has been some movement:

Schweiker - Baker says he has Schweiker, but we have no confirmation. We have moved him from undecided to L+.

Randolph - Hollings says he has talked to him and there is virtually no chance. Byrd agrees. We have moved him from undecided to L-. However, Byrd says we should keep trying and we still have hope on the basis of his conversations with you.

Zorinsky - All contacts are negative, but Linowitz has hope. Vance will see him later this week. We will ask you to talk to him on Wednesday or Thursday. We have moved him to L- from undecided.

DeConcini - He is a likely prospect. We think we can use the understanding on bases after 2000 to get him. Byrd is optimistic. We have left him undecided, however.

Ford - He is softening. His staff has made calls to all county chairmen in Kentucky testing their reaction to his support for the Treaties. Byrd has talked to him and detects a weakening in his opposition. He and DeConcini are secretly plotting, probably about a reservation on bases after the year 2000.

Hatfield (MT) - We are exploring the possibility of he and Baucus, a probable primary opponent, announcing for the Treaties at the same time. Byrd has talked to him. He remains genuinely undecided.

Burdick - He wants to deal on the Garrison Diversion Project. Byrd is optimistic. We have no report from Andrus yet, but we have moved him from L- to undecided.

Melcher - The Senator is concerned about operation and maintenance after 2000. He may be a target for the understanding mentioned above. He has called Linowitz and indicated he was gettable. Byrd confirms. We have moved him from L- to undecided.

Heinz - The Senator has given us, via Senator Baker, a three page letter addressed to you. In it, he has set out a rather expensive price for his vote. However, his concerns are all policy questions about the Treaties and there is room for compromise. State is preparing a response and some talking points. We will ask you to meet with him on Thursday or Friday.

Our plan for the remainder of the week is as follows. We will continue to make our contacts and gather reports from Strauss, Linowitz, Vance, Bunker, Andrus and the Senate leadership. On Wednesday evening, we will give you a list of Senators with whom we think you should meet. By then, we will have a good idea of what type of appeal each Senator should respond to.

> Zorinsky

Milt Young

Ted Stevens

> Schweiker *"Difficult to Δ - will take another look"*

> Roth *"not favorably inclined" wants to expedite*

Melcher

Ford

> Dominici *"will think about it - talk privately later"*

> Burdick

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

3/16/78
5:45 p.m.

Mr. President --

Names from Frank are
attached.

-- Susan

L+ Leaning Yes
 ? Undecided
 L- Leaning No
 - No Chance

PANAMA TREATY

VOTE COUNT

Electrostatic Copy Made
 for Preservation Purposes

as of 11/1/77

| + | L+ | ? | L- | - |
|--|--|---|--|--|
| Abourezk Anderson Bayh Biden Church Clark Cranston Culver Eagleton Glenn Gravel Hart Hollings Humphrey Inouye Kennedy Leahy Matsunaga McGovern Metcalf Metzenbaum Morgan Moynihan Muskie Nelson Pell Ribicoff Riegle Sarbanes Sparkman Stevenson | Bumpers Byrd, R. Chiles DeConcini Durkin Haskell Hathaway Huddleston Jackson Magnuson Proxmire Sasser Williams | ← Bentsen Ford Randolph Zorinsky | Burdick Cannon ← McIntyre Nunn ← Stone | Allen Byrd, H. Johnston Long McClellan Melcher Stennis ← Talmadge Eastland |
| Case Chafee Danforth Hatfield Javits Mathias Packwood Percy Weicker | Baker Bellmon Brooke Hayakawa Pearson | Griffin Heinz ← Stafford | Goldwater Lugar Roth Schweiker Stevens | Bartlett Curtis Dole Domenici Garn Hansen Hatch Helms Laxalt McClure Schmitt Scott Thurmond Tower Wallop Young |
| 40 | 18 | 7 | 10 | 25 |

92

STATUS OF THE SENATE

| FOR | | AGAINST | | |
|---------------|---------------------|---------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|
| AS REPORTED | SOFT ON AMMENDMENTS | UNDECIDED | WITH UNACCEPTABLE AMMENDMENTS | OPPOSED |
| DEMOCRATS | | | | |
| ABOUREZK | CHILES | DECONCINI | BURDICK - ? | ALLEN |
| ANDERSON | HASKELL | * FORD | CANNON | BYRD (VA) |
| BAYH | HATHAWAY | c * HATFIELD (MONT) | JOHNSTON | EASTLAND |
| BENTSEN | HODGES | c * NUNN + | LONG | STENNIS <i>Johnston</i> |
| BIDEN | MCINTYRE | RANDOLPH | MELCHER | |
| BUMPERS | SASSER | * ZORINSKY | TALMADGE | |
| BYRD (WV) | | | | |
| CHURCH | | | | |
| CLARK | | | | |
| CRANSTON | | | | |
| CULVER | | | | |
| DURKIN | | | | |
| EAGELTON | | | | |
| GLENN | | | | |
| GRAVEL | | | | |
| HART | | | | |
| HOLLINGS | | | | |
| HUDDLESTON | | | | |
| HUMPHREY | | | | |
| INOUE | | | | |
| JACKSON | | | | |
| KENNEDY | | | | |
| LEAHY | | | | |
| MAGNUSON | | | | |
| MATSUNAGA | | | | |
| MCGOVERN | | | | |
| METZENBAUM | | | | |
| MORGAN | | | | |
| MOYNIHAN | | | | |
| MUSKIE | | | | |
| NELSON | | | | |
| PELL | | | | |
| PROXMIRE | | | | |
| RIBICOFF | | | | |
| RIEGLE | | | | |
| SARBANES | | | | |
| SPARKMAN | | | | |
| STEVENSON | | | | |
| STONE | | | | |
| WILLIAMS | | | | |
| REPUBLICANS | | | | |
| CASE | BAKER | HEINZ | DOLE | BARTLETT |
| CHAFEE | BELLMON | ROTH | DOMENICI | CURTIS |
| HATFIELD (OR) | BROOKE | STEVENS | GOLDWATER - <i>CAIT</i> | GARN |
| HAYAKAWA | DANFORTH | | LUGAR | GRIFFIN |
| JAVITS | PEARSON | | SCHMITT | HANSEN |
| MATHIAS | STAFFORD | | SCHWEIKER | HATCH |
| PACKWOOD | | | YOUNG | HELMS |
| PERCY | | | | LAXALT |
| WEIKER | | | | MCCLURE |
| | | | | SCOTT |
| | | | | THURMOND |
| | | | | TOWER |
| | | | | WALLOP |
| 49 | 12 | 9 | 12 | 18 |

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Cy Randolph

Cecil ~~Steffens~~

McClure

Johnston

Hansen

Burdick *

Cannon *

John Mc Intyre

Hathaway

Sasser

Deconcini

Heinz

Dole

Melcher (Stammmet)

Sol Heinz

Zorinsky also Cy

Sweitzer

Schmidt

Goldwater

Fritz P Hatfield

Deconcini

Strauss De Concini

Long

Shapiro Roth

Brown Young

STATUS OF THE SENATE

| FOR | | AGAINST | | |
|---------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------|
| AS REPORTED (53) | SOFT ON AMMENDMENTS (8) | UNDECIDED (8) | WITH UNACCEPTABLE AMMENDMENTS (8) | OPPOSED (22) |
| DEMOCRATS | | | | |
| ABOUREZK | CHILES | DECONCINI | BURDICK | ALLEN |
| ANDERSON | HATHAWAY | FORD | CANNON | BYRD (VA) |
| BAYH | HODGES | HATFIELD (MONT) | LONG | EASTLAND |
| BENTSEN | MCINTYRE | NUNN | MELCHER | JOHNSTON |
| BIDEN | SASSER | RANDOLPH | TALMADGE | STENNIS |
| BUMPERS | | ZORINSKY | | |
| BYRD (WV) | | Burdick | Randolph | |
| CHURCH | 62 | Melcher | Zorinsky | |
| CLARK | | | | |
| CRANSTON | | | | |
| CULVER | | | | |
| DURKIN | | | | |
| EAGLETON | | | | |
| GLENN | | | | |
| GRAVEL | | | | |
| HART | | | | |
| HASKELL | | | | |
| HOLLINGS | | | | |
| HUDDLESTON | | | | |
| HUMPHREY | | | | |
| INOUE | | | | |
| JACKSON | | | | |
| KENNEDY | | | | |
| LEAHY | | | | |
| MAGNUSON | | | | |
| MATSUNAGA | | | | |
| MCGOVERN | | | | |
| METZENBAUM | | | | |
| MORGAN | | | | |
| MOYNIHAN | | | | |
| MUSKIE | | | | |
| NELSON | | | | |
| PELL | | | | |
| PROXMIRE | | | | |
| RIBICOFF | | | | |
| RIEGLE | | | | |
| SARBANES | | | | |
| SPARKMAN | | | | |
| STEVENSON | | | | |
| STONE | | | | |
| WILLIAMS | | | | |
| REPUBLICANS | | | | |
| BROOKE | BAKER | HEINZ | DOLE | BARTLETT |
| CASE | BELLMON | ROTH | STEVENS | DOMENICI |
| CHAFEE | DANFORTH | SCHWEIKER | YOUNG | GOLDWATER |
| HATFIELD (OR) | Schweiker | | | HANSEN |
| HAYAKAWA | | | | HELMS |
| JAVITS | | | | LUGAR |
| MATHIAS | | | | SCHMITT |
| PACKWOOD | | | | THURMOND |
| PEARSON | | | | WALLOP |
| PERCY | | | | |
| STAFFORD | | | | |
| WEIKER | | | | |
| | | | | CURTIS |
| | | | | GARN |
| | | | | GRIFFIN |
| | | | | HATCH |
| | | | | LAXALT |
| | | | | MCCLURE |
| | | | | SCOTT |
| | | | | TOWER |

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STATUS OF THE SENATE

| FOR | | AGAINST | | |
|---------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------|
| AS REPORTED (55) | SOFT ON AMENDMENTS (8) | UNDECIDED (8) | WITH UNACCEPTABLE AMENDMENTS (7) | OPPOSED (22) |
| DEMOCRATS | | | | |
| ABOUREZK ✓ | HATHAWAY | BURDICK | CANNON | ALLEN |
| ANDERSON ✓ | MCINTYRE + | ← DECONCINI + | ← LONG | BYRD (VA) |
| BAYH | SASSER | ← FORD | RANDOLPH | EASTLAND |
| BENTSEN | | HATFIELD (MONT) ← | TALMADGE | JOHNSTON |
| BIDEN | | MELCHER - ? | | STENNIS |
| BUMPERS | | ← NUNN | | |
| BYRD (WV) | | ZORINSKY | | |
| CHILES | | | | |
| CHURCH | | | | |
| CLARK | | | | |
| CRANSTON | | | | |
| CULVER | | | | |
| DURKIN | | | | |
| EAGLETON | | | | |
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| HUDDLESTON | | | | |
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| INOUE | | | | |
| JACKSON | | | | |
| KENNEDY | | | | |
| LEAHY | | | | |
| MAGNUSON | | | | |
| MATSUNAGA | | | | |
| MCGOVERN | | | | |
| METZENBAUM | | | | |
| MORGAN | | | | |
| MOYNIHAN | | | | |
| MUSKIE | | | | |
| NELSON — | | | | |
| PELL | | | | |
| PROXMIRE | | | | |
| RIBICOFF | | | | |
| RIEGLE | | | | |
| SARBANES | | | | |
| SPARKMAN | | | | |
| STEVENSON | | | | |
| STONE | | | | |
| WILLIAMS | | | | |
| REPUBLICANS | | | | |
| BROOKE | BAKER + | ROTH → | DOLE | BARTLETT |
| CASE | BELLMON — ? | | STEVENS | DOMENICI |
| CHAFEE | DANFORTH + | | YOUNG | GOLDWATER |
| HATFIELD (OR) | HEINZ + | | | HANSEN |
| HAYAKAWA | SCHWEIKER → | | | HELMS |
| JAVITS | | | | LUGAR |
| MATHIAS | | | | SCHMITT |
| PACKWOOD | | | | THURMOND |
| PEARSON | | | | WALLOP (-) |
| PERCY | | | | |
| STAFFORD | | | | |
| WEIKER | | | | |
| | | | | CURTIS |
| | | | | GARN |
| | | | | GRIFFIN |
| | | | | HATCH |
| | | | | LAXALT |
| | | | | MCCLURE |
| | | | | SCOTT |
| | | | | TOWER |

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STATUS OF THE SENATE

| FOR | | AGAINST | |
|---------------|----------------|---------------|----------------------|
| + | LEANING | LEANING | - |
| (59) | (3) | (6) | (28) |
| DEMOCRATS | | | |
| ABOUREZK | INOUE | FORD → | 62 ← LONG + |
| ANDERSON | JACKSON | 63 ← NUNN + | 65 ← DECONCINI + |
| BAYH | KENNEDY | [ZORINSKY] → | 67 ← HATFIELD (MT) + |
| BENTSEN | LEAHY | | RANDOLPH + |
| BIDEN | MAGNUSON | | 66 ← TALMADGE + |
| BUMPERS | MATSUNAGA | | 68 ← CANNON + |
| BYRD (WV) | MCGOVERN | | EASTLAND |
| CHILES | MCINTYRE | | JOHNSTON |
| CHURCH | METZENBAUM | | [MELCHER ? -] |
| CLARK | MORGAN | | STENNIS ? |
| CRANSTON | MOYNIHAN | | |
| CULVER | MUSKIE | | |
| DURKIN | NELSON | | |
| EAGLETON | PELL | | |
| GLENN | PROXMIRE | | |
| GRAVEL | RIBICOFF | | |
| HART | RIEGLE | | |
| HASKELL | SARBANES | | |
| HATHAWAY | SASSER | | |
| HODGES | SPARKMAN | | |
| HOLLINGS | STEVENSON | | |
| HUDDLESTON | STONE | | |
| HUMPHREY | WILLIAMS | | |
| REPUBLICANS | | | |
| BAKER | 60 ← BELLMON + | 64 ← BROOKE + | ROTH → |
| CASE | 61 ← HEINZ + | | SCHWEIKER → |
| CHAFEE | | | BARTLETT |
| DANFORTH | | | CURTIS |
| HATFIELD (OR) | | | DOLE ? |
| HAYAKAWA | | | DOMENICI ? - |
| JAVITS | | | GARN |
| MATHIAS | | | [GOLDWATER] |
| PACKWOOD | | | GRIFFIN |
| PEARSON | | | HANSEN ? - |
| PERCY | | | HATCH |
| STAFFORD | | | HELMS |
| WEIKER | | | LAXALT |
| | | | LUGAR |
| | | | MCCLURE |
| | | | SCHMITT |
| | | | SCOTT |
| | | | STEVENS |
| | | | THURMOND |
| | | | TOWER |
| | | | WALLOP |
| | | | YOUNG ? - |

+ = Committed Yes
L+ = Leaning Yes
? = Undecided
L- = Leaning No
- = No chance

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

PANAMA TREATY

VOTE COUNT

9
—

| + | L+ | ? | L- | - |
|---|---|--|--|---|
| Biden Church Clark Cranston Gravel Humphrey Inouye Kennedy Leahy Matsunaga McGovern Metcalf Morgan Moynihan Muskie Nelson Pell Ribicoff Riegle Sarbanes Sparkman Stevenson | Abourezk Anderson Bayh Burdick Byrd, R. Chiles Culver DeConcini Durkin Eagleton Glenn Hart ← Hathaway ✓ ← Haskell ✓ Jackson Magnuson → Metzenbaum Proxmire → Sasser Williams | Bentsen ← Bumpers Hollings ← Huddleston Randolph Zorinsky | Allen Cannon Ford Johnston McIntyre Melcher Nunn Stennis ← Stone Talmadge | • Byrd, H. ← Eastland ← Long ← McClellan |
| Hatfield Javits Packwood Case Chafee Danforth | Baker Bellmon Brooke Goldwater Hayakawa Mathias Percy Weicker | Doménici → Griffin Heinz Pearson Stevens ← Stafford | Hansen Lugar Roth Schweiker Schmitt → Wallop Young | Bartlett Curtis ← Dole Garn Hatch Helms Laxalt McClure Scott Thurmond Tower |
| 28 | 28 | 12 | 17 | 15 |

xxx '78 ласе

**** Possible supporters**

++ com + pos • wait - neg -- against

| SUPPORT LIKELY 42 | INCLINED TO SUPPORT 15 | UNDECIDED UNCERTAIN 8 | INCLINED AGAINST 17 | OPPOSED 18 |
|---|---|--|--|---|
| <u>DEMOCRATS</u> | | | | |
| Abourezk Bayh Biden Chiles Church++ Clark Cranston Culver Glenn Gravel++ Humphrey++ Hart Kennedy Metzenbaum McGovern Morgan Muskie Nelson++ Pell Ribicoff Riegle Sarbanes Sparkman Stevenson++ Williams | Anderson++ > R. Byrd+ Eagleton++ Leahy Metcalf > Moynihan++ > Hayakawa Bentsen • Burdick+ • Haskell++ • Inouye++ > Jackson > DeConcini • Magnuson > Hathaway ++ > Matsunaga ++ | Bumpers ++ • Hollings > Sasser • • Durkin + > Proxmire | > Cannon > Ford + ** > Huddleston • ++ • > McIntyre + ** • > Melcher ? ** > Nunn • ** > Randolph + > Stennis • > Stone • ** > Talmadge > Zorinsky ** | > Allen • > H. Byrd - > Eastland + Long • > McClellan - Johnston |
| <u>REPUBLICANS</u> | | | | |
| Brooke Case Chafee Danforth Hatfield | > Javits ++ Mathias Packwood Pearson Percy | > Baker • Bellmon > Goldwater • Griffin > Weicker ++ > Stevens Stafford Doménici > Lugar • ? | > Heinz • > Hansen • > Roth ** • Schweiker ** > Young • > Schmitt • | > Bartlett Curtis > Dole • Garn > Helms -- > Hatch -- > Laxalt • > McClure - Scott -- Thurmond -- Tower • Wallop |

+ = Committed Yes
 L+ = Leaning Yes
 ? = Undecided
 L- = Leaning No
 - = No chance

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

NO. 2 - August 26, 1977

PANAMA TREATY

VOTE COUNT

| + | L+ | ? | L- | - |
|--|---|---|--|---|
| Biden Church Clark Cranston Eagleton Gravel Haskell Hathaway Humphrey Inouye Kennedy Leahy Matsunaga McGovern Metcalf Moynihan Muskie Nelson Pell Ribicoff Riegle Sarbanes Sparkman Stevenson Anderson | Abourezk Bayh Bumpers Burdick Byrd, R. Chiles Culver DeConcini Durkin Glenn Hart Jackson Magnuson → Metzenbaum Sasser Williams | Bentsen Hollings ← Huddleston++ McIntyre Melcher Morgan Proxmire Randolph Stone Zorinsky | Allen Cannon Ford Johnston Long McClellan Nunn Stennis Talmadge | Byrd, H. ← Eastland |
| Hatfield Javits Packwood Case Chafee Danforth Weicker | Baker Bellmon Brooke Goldwater Mathias Percy Pearson Stafford | Griffin Hayakawa Heinz Stevens | Dole Domenici Hansen Lugar Roth Schweiker Schmitt → Wallop Young | Bartlett Curtis Garn Hatch Helms Laxalt McClure Scott Thurmond Tower |
| 32 | 24 | 14 | 18 | 12 |

+ = Committed Yes
 L+ = Leaning Yes
 ? = Undecided
 - = Leaning No
 L- = No chance

No. 3 - August 29, 1977

PANAMA TREATY

VOTE COUNT

| + | L+ | ? | L- | - |
|------------|------------|----------|-----------|----------|
| Anderson | Abourezk | Bentsen | Allen | Byrd, H. |
| Biden | Bayh | Hollings | Cannon | Eastland |
| Church | Bumpers | McIntyre | Ford | |
| Clark | Burdick | Melcher | Johnston | |
| Cranston | Byrd, R. | Morgan | Long | |
| Eagleton | Chiles | Proxmire | McClellan | |
| Gravel | Culver | Randolph | Nunn | |
| Haskell | DeConcini | Stone | Stennis | |
| Hathaway | Durkin | Zorinsky | Talmadge | |
| Humphrey | Glenn | | | |
| Inouye | Hart | | | |
| Kennedy | Jackson | | | |
| Leahy | Magnuson | | | |
| Matsunaga | Metzenbaum | | | |
| McGovern | Sasser | | | |
| Metcalf | Williams | | | |
| Moynihan | | | | |
| Muskie | | | | |
| Nelson | | | | |
| Pell | | | | |
| Ribicoff | | | | |
| Riegle | | | | |
| Sarbanes | | | | |
| Sparkman | | | | |
| Stevenson | | | | |
| Huddleston | | | | |
| | | | | |
| Hatfield | Baker | Griffin | Dole | Bartlett |
| Javits | Bellmon | Hayakawa | Domenici | Curtis |
| Packwood | Brooke | Heinz | Hansen | Garn |
| Case | Goldwater | Stevens | Lugar | Hatch |
| Chafee | Mathias | | Roth | Helms |
| Danforth | Percy | | Schweiker | Laxalt |
| Weicker | Pearson | | Schmitt | McClure |
| | Stafford | | Tower | Scott |
| | | | Wallop | Thurmond |
| | | | Young | |
| 33 | 24 | 13 | 19 | 11 |

+ = Committed Yes
 L+ = Leaning Yes
 ? = Undecided
 - = Leaning No
 L- = No chance

No. 4 - August 30, 1977

PANAMA TREATY

VOTE COUNT

| + | L+ | ? | L- | - |
|------------|------------|----------|-----------|----------|
| Anderson | Abourezk | Bentsen | Allen | Byrd, H. |
| Biden | Bayh | Hollings | Cannon | Eastland |
| Church | Bumpers | McIntyre | Ford | |
| Clark | Burdick | Melcher | Johnston | |
| Cranston | Byrd, R. | Proxmire | Long | |
| Eagleton | Chiles | Randolph | McClellan | |
| Gravel | Culver | Stone | Nunn | |
| Haskell | DeConcini | Zorinsky | Stennis | |
| Hathaway | Durkin | | Talmadge | |
| Humphrey | Glenn | | | |
| Inouye | ← Hart | | | |
| Kennedy | Jackson | | | |
| Leahy | Magnuson | | | |
| Matsunaga | Metzenbaum | | | |
| McGovern | Morgan | | | |
| Metcalfe | Sasser → | | | |
| Moynihan | Williams | | | |
| Muskie | | | | |
| Nelson | | | | |
| Pell | | | | |
| Ribicoff | | | | |
| Riegle | | | | |
| Sarbanes | | | | |
| Sparkman | | | | |
| Stevenson | | | | |
| Huddleston | | | | |
| | | | | |
| Hatfield | Baker | Griffin | Dole | Bartlett |
| Javits | Bellmon | Hayakawa | Domenici | Curtis |
| Packwood | Brooke | Heinz | Hansen | Garn |
| Case | Goldwater | Stevens | Lugar | Hatch |
| Chafee | Mathias | | Roth | Helms |
| Danforth | Percy | | Schweiker | Laxalt |
| Weicker | Pearson | | Schmitt | McClure |
| | Stafford | | Tower | Scott |
| | | | Wallop | Thurmond |
| | | | Young | |
| 33 | 25 | 12 | 19 | 11 |

+ = Committed Yes
 Lt = Leaning Yes
 ? = Undecided
 L- = Leaning No
 - = No Chance

ADMINISTRATIVELY CONFIDENTIAL

No. 5 - September 1, 1977

PANAMA TREATY

VOTE COUNT

| + | Lt | ? | L- | - |
|--|---|---|---|--|
| Anderson Biden Church Clark Cranston Eagleton Gravel Hart Haskell Hathaway Humphrey Inouye Kennedy Leahy Matsunaga McGovern Metcalf Moynihan Muskie Nelson Pell Ribicoff Riegle Sarbanes Sparkman Stevenson Huddleston | Abourezk ← Bayh Bumpers Burdick Byrd, R. Chiles Culver DeConcini Durkin Glenn Jackson Magnuson Metzenbaum Morgan Sasser Williams | Bentsen ← Hollings McIntyre Melcher Proxmire Randolph Stone Zorinsky | Allen Cannon Ford Johnston Long McClellan Nunn Stennis Talmadge | Byrd, H. Eastland |
| Hatfield Javits Packwood Case Chafee Danforth Weicker Percy | Baker Bellmon Brooke Goldwater Mathias Pearson Stafford | Griffin Hayakawa Heinz Stevens | Dole Domenici Hansen Lugar Roth Schweiker Schmitt Tower Wallop Young | Bartlett Curtis Garn Hatch Helms Laxalt McClure Scott Thurmond |
| 35 | 23 | 12 | 19 | 11 |

58 →

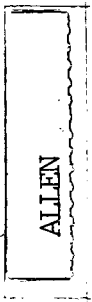
70 →

89 →

ABOUREZK

SENATOR ABOUREZK

[illegible]



SENATOR ALLEN

| DATE | CONTACT | COMMENTS | POSITION |
|------|---------------|--|----------|
| 7/29 | Hansel Beckel | Testimony at Senate Hearing. Extremely negative comments. | L- |
| 8/10 | President | Open Mind, but hard to shift | L- |
| 8/11 | Bob Beckel | Follow-up to President's call -- very negative | L- |
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ANDERSON

SENATOR ANDERSON

| DATE | CONTACT | COMMENTS | POSITION |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|--|----------|
| 2/22 | Council of Americas Letter | Response to Council's letter was mildly negative | ? |
| 8/10 | Bob Thomson | Tcf indicating he was generally supportive, but reporters were present so he could not be frank. Worried about political impact. | L+ |
| Wk. of Gov. Lucey 8/15 | | Said he would support treaty. Influenced by Humphrey | + |
| 8/25 | tcf Vice President | OK, solid - but wants to wait for announcement <i>Committed</i> | + |
| | | | |
| | | | |

BAKER

SENATOR BAKER

| DATE | CONTACT | COMMENTS | POSITION |
|----------|---------------------------|--|----------|
| Mid-June | Linowitz | Thought Baker responded positively. | L+ |
| 7/25 | Bob Beckel Dan Tate | Briefed on economic package--receptive, but had questions on military aspects | L+ |
| 8/2 | Bob Beckel Dan Tate | Briefed on economic package; favorably impressed but no commitment | L+ |
| 8/9 | President | Favors Treaty; needs details; urged President to "call Ford" | L+ |
| 8/10 | Bob Thomson | Notification of conceptual agreement | L+ |
| 8/24 | Bob Thomson Bob Beckel | Briefed foreign policy staff (Stuart Janny). Janny is strongly favorable. <i>Endorsed amendment after visiting Panama</i> | L+ |

BARTLETT

SENATOR BARTLETT

| DATE | CONTACT | COMMENTS | POSITION |
|------|-----------------------|---|----------|
| | | No early contacts because of illness. | |
| 8/10 | President | He is on opposite sides with President--Oklahoma is against | L- |
| 8/11 | Telegram to President | Requests immediate, thorough and candid explanation of Treaty's impact on U.S. interests in Canal--i.e., Panamanian Control, neutrality | - |
| 8/12 | Telegram to President | Requests detailed explanation to American Public and Congress on provisions of Treaty | - |
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BAYH

| DATE | CONTACT | COMMENTS | POSITION |
|-------------------|-----------------|---|----------|
| Mid-July Briefing | Bunker Linowitz | Said he was supportive of the Ambassadors' work | L+ |
| 8/10 | Doug Bennett | Notification of conceptual agreement. Had a favorable reaction to Treaty; sounded supportive. | L+ |
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BELLMON

| DATE | CONTACT | COMMENTS | POSITION |
|----------|---|---|----------|
| Mid-Feb. | Attended SFRC breakfast for Panamanian Foreign Minister | No comments recorded. | ? |
| 6/16 | Linowitz Bunker Gen. Rogers | Briefing; open-minded but very few comments | ? |
| 8/3 | Doug Bennet | "I am more or less on the record" as favoring a treaty, but not prepared to commit at the time. | L+ |
| 8/10 | Doug Bennet | Notification of conceptual agreement. Said he was favorable. | L+ |
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BENTSEN

SENATOR DENISEN

| DATE | CONTACT | COMMENTS | POSITION |
|--------------------|-------------------|---|----------|
| Mid-July | Sec. Vance | At personal briefing, Senator would not commit, but said he would have open mind | ? |
| Late July Briefing | Bunker Linowitz | At briefing, asked questions about Canal revenues; how much would tolls raise? But remained noncommittal. | ? |
| 8/26 | Mtg. w/ President | Studying Texas Against Editors from Texas need briefing 9/14 | ? |
| 1/18 | | <i>Called me to report support</i> | |
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BIDEN

| DATE | CONTACT | COMMENTS | POSITION |
|----------------------|----------------------------------|--|----------|
| Mid-July Briefing | Linowitz Bunker Gen. Jones | Intended to support treaty--was for it even though constituents were against | + |
| Mid-August | Guthrie (State) | Tcf Joyce Shub-foreign policy staff--says Senator has made up his mind | + |
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| DATE | CONTACT | COMMENTS | POSITION |
|------|---------|----------|----------|
|------|---------|----------|----------|

Mid-
July
Brief-
ing

Linowitz
Bunker
Gen. Jones

Intended to support treaty--was
for it even though constituents
were against

 $+$

Mid-
August

Guthrie
(State)

Tcf Joyce Shub-foreign policy
staff--says Senator has made
up his mind

+

BROOKE

SENATOR BROOKS

CONTACT

COMMENTS

POSITION

NO CONTACT
--did not attend briefings;
--out of the country in August.

$L +$

BUMPERS

SENATOR BUMPERS

| DATE | CONTACT | COMMENTS | POSITION |
|----------|----------------------------------|--|----------|
| Mid-July | Sec. Vance Zbig Brzezinski | briefing, but no response | ? |
| 8/2 | Bob Beckel Doug Bennet | sensitive to pressure back home, will stay neutral during recess | ? |
| 8/10 | Bob Thomson | Notification of conceptual agreement; said he was open- minded; would do his best to support, but it is tough in Arkansas | ? |
| 8/24 | tcf Pres. | Need Pres. TV & PR efforts Tough in Arkansas Wants Arkansans-White House (FM to arrange) <i>attention now to vote for- Difficult in Arkansas hard on TV {keep his position secret}</i> | L+ |
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BURDICK

| DATE | CONTACT | COMMENTS | POSITION |
|------|-------------------------------------|---|----------|
| 3/16 | Luncheon w/ Bunker & Linowitz | Noncommittal at briefing | ? |
| 8/1 | Bob Thomson | Briefing on economic package; very favorably impressed, but receiving great pressure from veterans--emphasize neutrality agreement. | L+ |
| 8/10 | Bob Thomson | No commitments until he saw treaty; was interested once again in economic package; emphasize that payments are from tolls; said he would try to help. | L+ |
| 8/25 | Tcf VP | PC is a political problem in N.D. wants briefing on military use strong opposition in state he is leaning on us, but will stay cool for awhile no comment for awhile | L+ |
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BYRD, H.

SENATOR BYRD, R.

| DATE | CONTACT | COMMENTS | POSITION |
|------|--------------------------------|---|----------|
| 3/16 | Bunker Linowitz | Luncheon meeting briefing, no comments. | ? |
| May | Linowitz | Said he could live with neu- trality provision | L+ |
| 6/16 | Bunker Linowitz Briefing | Balanced introduction to briefing--totally noncommittal | L+ |
| 6/23 | Bunker Linowitz Briefing | Several comments "Senate must be ready for treaty." Asked if right to take action under neutrality agreement was clear; asked about Canal profits | L+ |
| 8/1 | Dan Tate Bob Beckel | Briefing on economic package - response mildly positive | L+ |
| 8/9 | President | Said he would help. <i>Endorsed</i> | L+ |

CONTINUED

| DATE | CONTACT | COMMENTS | POSITION |
|------|-------------|--|----------|
| 8/10 | Bob Thomson | Notification of conceptual agreement | L+ |
| 8/23 | President | Dinner meeting; lengthy discussions of Treaty re scheduling, signing, strategy, etc. | L+ |
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BYRD, R.

SENATOR BYRD, H.

CANNON

SENATOR CANNON

DATE CONTACT COMMENTS POSITION

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|------|----------------------------------|--|----|
| 7/21 | Bunker Linowitz Gen. Brown | Expressed skeptical interest in neutrality agreement; cited political problems in his state. | L- |
|------|----------------------------------|--|----|

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| 8/2 | Bob Beckel Doug Bennet | Briefing on economic problems-- little response | L- |
|-----|---------------------------|--|----|

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|------|---------------------------|--|----|
| 8/10 | Bob Beckel Doug Bennet | Has some questions; not popular in his state. | L- |
|------|---------------------------|--|----|

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|--------|----|--|--|
| 2/7/78 | JC | Still quite negative. Trumped up economic arguments. Afraid politically | |
|--------|----|--|--|

CASE

SENATOR CASE

| DATE | CONTACT | COMMENTS | POSITION |
|------|--------------------------------|---|----------|
| 2/1 | Press statement with Sparkman | "endorsed negotiations" | L+ |
| 4/1 | SFRC closed hearings on Panama | many positive statements and questions | L+ |
| 6/16 | Linowitz Bunker Briefing | Noncommittal | L+ |
| 8/11 | Warren Christopher | Notification of conceptual agreement--very positive | L+ |
| 8/21 | AP | Announced support | + |
| | | | |

CHAFEE

SENATOR CHAFEE

| DATE | CONTACT | COMMENTS | POSITION |
|------|------------------|--|----------|
| Feb. | Volunteer effort | Contacted all Freshmen GOP urging them not to sign Thurmond Resolution | L+ |
| 4/5 | Breakfast | Hosted breakfast with GOP Freshman for Linowitz | L+ |
| 6/23 | Linowitz Bunker | Noncommittal, but friendly informal comments | L+ |
| 8/2 | Bob Thomson | Brief on economic package, very favorable reaction | L+ |
| 8/11 | Bob Beckel | Senator very positive on treaty; said he would have a press release | L+ |
| 8/11 | Press Release | Announced he favored treaty | + |
| 8/21 | AP | Announced Support | + |

CHILES

| DATE | CONTACT | COMMENTS | POSITION |
|---------|--------------------------------|--|----------|
| June 30 | Bunker Linowitz Brown Briefing | Favorable comments; wants joint chiefs to help; Florida situation is difficult | L+ |
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CHURCH

SENATOR CHURCH

| DATE | CONTACT | COMMENTS | POSITION |
|------|---------------------------|---|----------|
| 4/1 | SFRC Hearings | Very favorable comments on Treaty | L+ |
| 6/30 | Bunker Linowitz Briefing | Made favorable comments about treaties; said the time had come; new treaty improves Canal security | L+ |
| 8/2 | Bob Beckel Bob Thomson | Briefing on economic package; favors anything obviating need for Congressional approval; dislikes OPIC, but said Treaty provision was ok. | L+ |
| 8/10 | Telegram to President | Count on his support | + |
| 8/11 | Press Statement | Favored ratification | + |
| | | | |

CLARK

SENATOR CLARK

| DATE | CONTACT | COMMENTS | POSITION |
|------|------------------------|--|----------|
| 8/11 | Bob Beckel | Notification of conceptual agreement. Said he would support | + |
| 8/18 | Bob Beckel Linowitz | Committed to supporting Treaty; helped target other Senators. | + |
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CRANSTON

SENATOR CRANSTON

| DATE | CONTACT | COMMENTS | POSITION |
|---------------|---|---|----------|
| June/ July | Continual briefings by Bunker, Linowitz, Thomson, Beckel | The Senator has set up all briefings; urged people to attend; has committed to support and lead fight. | + |
| 8/21 | AP | Announced Support | + |
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CULVER

SENATOR CULVER

| DATE | CONTACT | COMMENTS | POSITION |
|------|--------------------------------|---|----------|
| 3/16 | Luncheon Linowitz Bunker | No comments | L+ |
| 8/24 | Joe Mitchell W.H.C.L. | Tcf Park Rinard (A.A.) Senator is likely to support; wants to help. | L+ |
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CURTIS

SENATOR CURTIS

| DATE | CONTACT | COMMENTS | POSITION |
|------|--------------------------------|---|----------|
| 6/16 | Linowitz Bunker Briefing | Very negative | - |
| 8/9 | Telegram to President | Protests completion of Treaty with dictator-ruled nation | - |
| 8/11 | Doug Bennet | Notification of conceptual agree- ment "flatly negative" | - |
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DANFORTH

SENATOR DANFORTH

| DATE | CONTACT | COMMENTS | POSITION |
|--------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|----------|
| 4/18 | Letter to Linowitz | Committed to support Treaty | + |
| 8/3 | Bob Beckel | Excellent economic package | + |
| 2/8/78 | Arlson Rockefeller | | + |
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DeCONCINI

SENATOR DeCONCINI

| DATE | CONTACT | COMMENTS | POSITION |
|------|--------------------------------|---|----------|
| 6/23 | Linowitz Bunker Briefing | Urged public campaign; No hurry for treaty consideration | ? |
| 8/2 | Bob Thomson Bob Beckel | Briefing on economic package; wants badly to support-- approves economics | L+ |
| 8/11 | Bob Thomson | Is trying to work himself into position where he can support | L+ |
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DOLE

SENATOR DOLE

| DATE | CONTACT | COMMENTS | POSITION |
|------|------------------------------------|--|----------|
| | | NUMEROUS ATTEMPTS TO CONTACT WERE REBUFFED | |
| 8/23 | Letter to State Dept. | Numerous questions; not especially hostile | - |
| 8/25 | TCF Pres. | Don't bring to vote too early; Will consult w/ Pres. Ford 8/28; Need briefing | L- |
| 8/30 | Ambler Moss (State) Gen. Dolvin | The Senator was much less negative than had been expected. Cited "continuity" with Ford negotiations approvingly; asked several questions re defense and neutrality. | L- |
| 2/78 | JC | Appealed to b. partisan patriotism - Dole left door open - Will talk again to Baker & Ford - (Repub politicians the factor) | L- |
| | | | |

DOMENICI

| DATE | CONTACT | COMMENTS | POSITION |
|----------|---------------------------------|--|----------|
| Mid-July | Linowitz Bunker Briefings | "Sounds reasonable, but how do I explain to constituents" | L- |
| 8/3 | Doug Bennet | Promised to stay neutral; concerned about defense, employee rights, management | L- |
| 8/11 | Bob Thomson | Sounded positive on the issue, much more so than before; will study the Treaty closely | ? |
| 8/25 | Tcf VP | wants to be briefed and look at in depth; is opposed presently, would have to be convinced; his state strongly opposes (General Brown should see him) | L- |
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DURKIN

| DATE | CONTACT | COMMENTS | POSITION |
|------|-------------|--|----------|
| 8/11 | Bob Thomson | Wants to support us and probably will, but terribly concerned about Meldrim Thompson | L+ |
| 8/25 | TCF VP | --wants to look at treaty, talk --wants to be w/ Tom McIntyre, if possible --inclination to go, sympathetic to President and Latin Americans | L+ |
| 1/78 | TC | Endorsed | |
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EAGLETON

SENATOR EAGLETON

| DATE | CONTACT | COMMENTS | POSITION |
|------|----------------------------|--|----------|
| 8/11 | Brian Atwood (State) | Very supportive--briefing on agreement in principal | L+ |
| 8/25 | Tcf VP | OK, but will be coy <i>Committed</i> | + |
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EASTLAND

SENATOR EASTLAND

| DATE | CONTACT | COMMENTS | POSITION |
|-------|--------------------|--|----------|
| 6/16 | Linowitz Bunker | Very negative | - |
| 8/11 | President | Said Bunker was an idiot; will not commit for a while | - |
| 8/23 | Comment | Upon returning from Panama, he said he would remain neutral | - |
| 11/78 | TC | On way back from HH funeral. Against treaties | - |
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FORD

CARN

[illegible]

GLENN

SENATOR GLENN

| DATE | CONTACT | COMMENTS | POSITION |
|-----------|---------------------------|--|----------|
| 4/1 | SFRC Hearings | No comment, but friendly to Ambassador. | ? |
| Late July | Bunker Linowitz briefings | Asked about financing and economic agreements | ? |
| 8/3 | Doug Bennet | Tcf with Roy Werner--said the Senator would be with us | L+ |
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GOLDWATER

SENATOR GOLDWATER

| DATE | CONTACT | COMMENTS | POSITION |
|------------|-------------------------|---|----------|
| 8/3 | Bob Thomson | Briefing on economic package; approved of package; said US is not willing to send troops, so new treaty is only alternative | L+ |
| 8/10 | President | Concerned about financial and emotional aspects; wants to help, however "Screwed Panama long enough" | L+ |
| Mid August | "Dear Colleague" Letter | said new treaty is needed | L+ |
| | | <i>off & on - No way to depend on Goldwater</i> | |
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GRAVEL

SENATOR GRAVEL

| DATE | CONTACT | COMMENTS | POSITION |
|------------|---------------------------|--|----------|
| Early July | President | Sealevel canal discussions | L+ |
| Mid-July | Bob Beckel Bob Thomson | Very positive about new treaty, but is pushing sealevel canal | + |
| 8/11 | Bob Thomson | Notification of conceptual agreement. Twenty minute exposition on sealevel canal | + |
| 8/17 | Letter to President | Congratulations on successful negotiations. Count on his full and enthusiastic support | + |
| 8/21 | AP | Announced support | + |
| | | | |

GRIFFIN

SENATOR GRIFFIN

DATE CONTACT COMMENTS POSITION

Mid-July

Linowitz
Bunker
briefing

Very skeptical questions about
Treaty; but could be moved;
undecided at this time

?

1/78

JC

Against in For Rel
Com. "Will not
support crippling amendments -
Not on 'truth squad'.

L -

HANSEN

SENATOR

HANSEN

DATE _____

CONTACT

COMMENTS

POSITION

8/10

President

Wants to know details; has open mind

L-

HART

SENATOR HART

| DATE | CONTACT | COMMENTS | POSITION |
|------|-------------|--|----------|
| 3/11 | Bob Thomson | Sounded supportive, but did not offer detailed comments | L+ |
| 8/31 | VP | Solid + But will take many lumps (would like Colorado group brought in to the White House for briefing). | + |
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HASKELL

SENATOR HASKELL

| DATE | CONTACT | COMMENTS | POSITION |
|------|---------|----------|----------|
|------|---------|----------|----------|

8/3

Bob Beckel

Briefing in economic package; said
he was leaning in favor; thinks
Treaty can be sold

L+

8/25

TCF VP

Read Treaty, OK

Committee

+